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ABSTRACT

National census data suggest a sustained period of no growth or modest growth in births; however, migration variations in the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas and in different regions of the country portend the importance of local community planning for the future of high school facilities. The place of the high school in the scheme of schooling is receiving an unprecedented searching reappraisal. New programs are being developed to meet the needs of high school age students and also to expand the utilization of school facilities by community members. Districts experiencing declining enrollments have tried a variety of options. First among these is redeployment of surplus space to accommodate those activities and programs that have been deprived of adequate space. Other uses of surplus space have been for vocational, special, and adult education programs; teacher centers; and community schools as service centers. Finally, rather than destroy the local high school (a strong community symbol), some areas enacted legislation enabling the private sector to convert unused school buildings to shops, theaters, and other community amenities. (Author/MLF)

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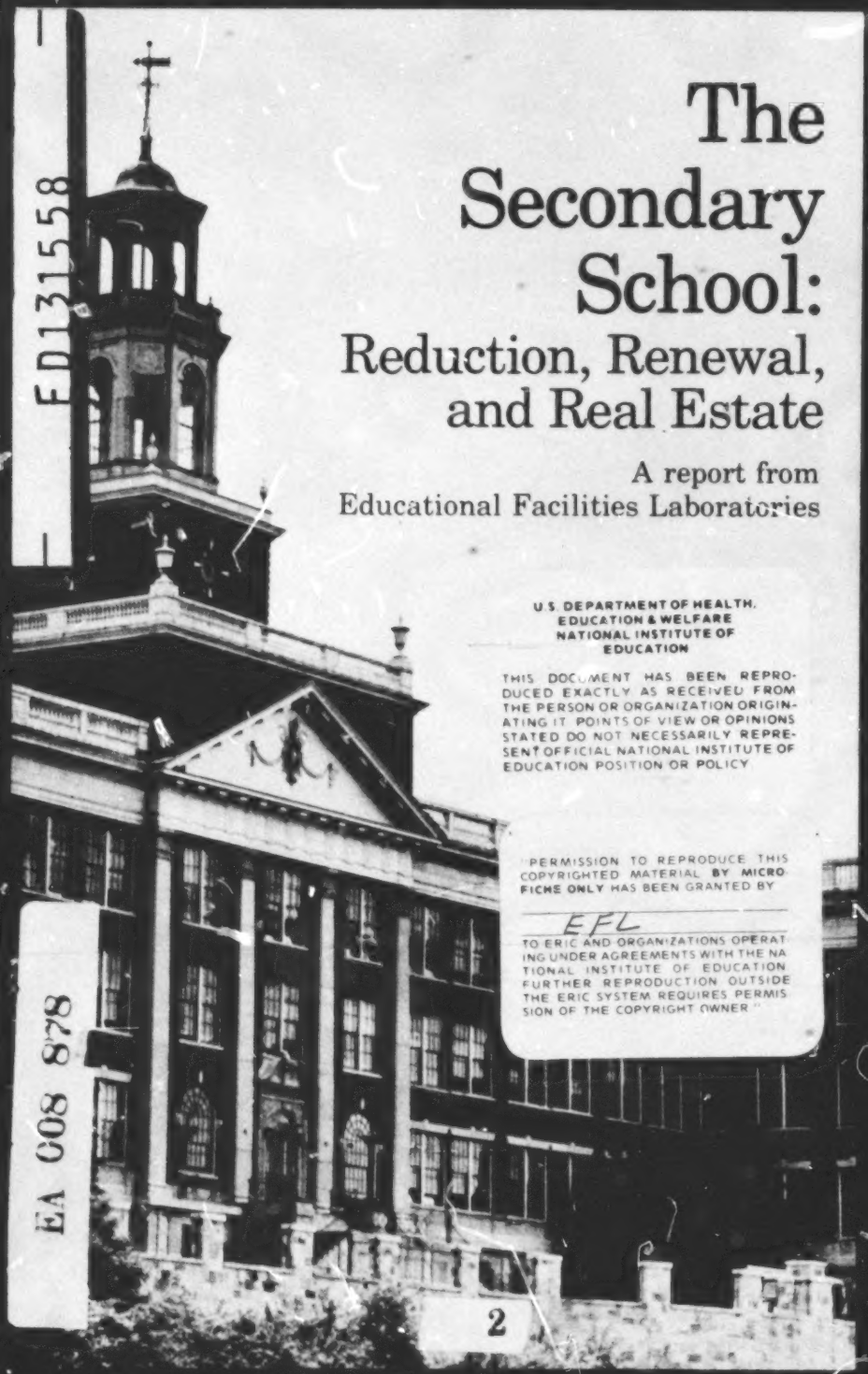

The Secondary School:

Reduction, Renewal, and Real Estate

A report from Educational Facilities Laboratories

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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The Secondary School: Reduction, Renewal, and Real Estate

A report from
Educational Facilities Laboratories

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Foreword

This is the third in a series of EFL reports concerned with the phenomenon of decreasing school enrollments, especially its impact on school policy and, more particularly, on school facilities. The first report, *Fewer Pupils/Surplus Space* (1973), described the demography of decline and gave a representative sample of district responses to this condition as it was affecting elementary schools. At the time of publication the information was new for the majority of school districts in the country.

The second publication, *Surplus School Space: Options and Opportunities* (1976), was written for a wider audience—not only for school administrators, but for all citizens likely to be involved in determining public policy. It serves as a guide to understanding the condition of declining enrollments, the procedures which could be followed in coping reasonably with it, and the options that districts might use as alternatives to the mothballing or abandonment of schools.

The Secondary School: Reduction, Renewal, and Real Estate is about the future of the high schools. To date, not many communities have had to face the issue of what to do with surplus secondary school space. But it is none too early to plan for a declining secondary school population. At a time of educational ferment and reform, it would be most unfortunate if this movement for revitalizing the high school is frustrated by an inability to solve the problems of physical space. EFL hopes this report can help communities begin to plan now, to consider the local conditions, and to choose options that will enhance and invigorate this uniquely American institution—the free public high school.

We have been assisted in developing this report by numerous persons who have had to face, or are soon to face, the question of what to do with excess school space. The project staff queried such persons by phone and mail.

We met personally for extended discussions with others, such as Robert Spillane, Superintendent, New Rochelle, New York; John Garber, Director, Center for Community Education, Northern Michigan University, Marquette; William Keogh, Superintendent, Bedford, Massachusetts; and Noble Gividen, former Superintendent of Northern Westchester, New York, BOCES.

A draft of this report was submitted to a representative panel, which met with the project staff; their observations and suggestions have strengthened the document and its argument. The panel consisted of Dr. Charles M. Bernardo, Superintendent, Montgomery County, Maryland; Norman Feuer, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, Dayton City Schools, Ohio; Oliver Lancaster, Principal, Gratz High School, Philadelphia; Scott Thompson, Associate Secretary for Research, National Association of Secondary School Principals; Gilbert Weld, Principal, North Division, Niles Township High School, Skokie, Illinois; and Bill M. Wise, Assistant Superintendent for Facility Development and Services, Metropolitan Public Schools, Nashville, Tennessee.

Cyril Sargent, EFL consultant, is the principal author and researcher, assisted by Vicki Moses, EFL research associate. As usual, EFL's officers Harold Gores and Alan Green were closely involved from start to finish.

Finally, we especially wish to recognize the financial support provided by The Rockefeller Family Fund and the counsel of its own John Esty.

That this report may be an early alert and thus stimulate creative planning solutions to what otherwise may be another crisis in education is our single desire. To that end, responsibility for the contents is strictly EFL's.

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1. Planning for the new numbers

In 1950, the youth population of ages 14 through 17 numbered 8,444,000; 25 years later, in 1975, it had peaked at twice that size—16,922,000. From 1975 until at least 1988, it will be all downhill, plunging to a fairly certain 13,502,000 for a loss of 20%. After 1988 the slide could continue, or the numbers could start to turn around.

Why bother with population numbers again? Most people know that the birth rate has dropped sharply in recent years, yet the euphoria of the growth years and the growth psychology of the 1950s and 1960s lingers on. Many school boards and administrators simply have not faced up to the extent and momentum of the decline, even though they are dealing with "reductions in force" and empty classrooms. Each succeeding year with a low number of births adds to the cumulative downward pressure on enrollments, and 1975 has already dumbfounded the experts who had predicted a turnabout. Even in January 1974, the *Wall Street Journal* was rather plaintively asking: "Is Gerbers Products Company. . .a maker of baby foods, finally crawling out of the doldrums?. . . The key consideration in the baby product industry is the birth rate, which has increased in the past four months. . . ." Unfortunately, it was a mere flutter.

Wall Street is not alone in wishing to reverse this trend. We simply are not comfortable with decline in anything, and we do not face up easily to coping with "no-growth" or with decreases. To help us overcome a kind of psychological barrier and respond to "this new reality," we have to return to the statistics and consider the following items.

☐ "The birth rate in the United States has declined for five consecutive years. Total live births in 1975 were estimated at 3,149,000, about 1% below the 3,158,958 of the previous year." (1)

(1) National Center for Health Statistics, quoted in *The New York Times*, March 5, 1976.

☐ "American women under 30 years of age are increasingly favoring the two-child family. Fifty-six per cent of wives 18–24 years old anticipated having two children as compared with 37% in a 1967 survey. The corresponding figures for wives 25–29 were 52% in 1974 and 29% in 1967. In 1967 over one-quarter of American wives 18–29 years of age expected to have four or more children. By 1974, about one woman in 10 expected to have this many children." (2)

☐ "During the 12-month period ending in August 1974, for the first time since shortly after World War II, the marriage total was significantly smaller (by 68,000) than it had been in the preceding year. However, the divorce total continued to rise (by 56,000). Since 1965, the annual number of first marriages has not been keeping pace with the rapid growth in the number of persons in the prime years of first marriages." (3)

☐ "In 1960, 28% of women 20–24 were single, but the corresponding figure in 1974 had jumped by more than one-third to a level of 40%." (3)

☐ "The number of persons under 35 years of age living alone increased from 19.1% of the age-group in 1962 to 28.0% in 1972." (4)

☐ "An increase in small households (1970–74) has occurred in all three major jurisdictions of the Washington Metropolitan Area. In the District of Columbia, Arlington County, and Alexandria, 60% or more of all households now contain only one or two persons." (5)

☐ "During the early 1970s, children of preschool age and

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(2) U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-20, No. 209.

(3) U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-23, No. 52.

(4) U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-20, No. 237.

(5) The Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, "Washington Region, 1974," p. 2.

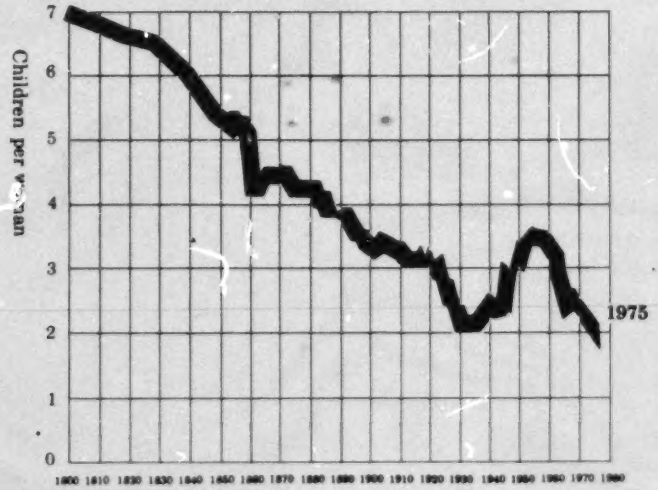
the early elementary grades decreased by about 13,600 a year. From more than 19% of the area's total population in 1970, children below the age of 10 years have now decreased to only 15%." (5)

Where we have come from

Stand back a minute and look at a bit of statistical history. In 1800 the number of children per family averaged about seven. Then for 175 years, except for the short turnabout between the 1940s and the 1960s, it has been on a steadily declining path, and by 1972 had reached the now familiar "zero population growth" size of 2.1 children per family. And still it has continued downward. In 1974 it was 1.86, and for 1975 it dropped dramatically to 1.80.

For the past three years, then, we have dropped below the zero-growth level (Figure I).

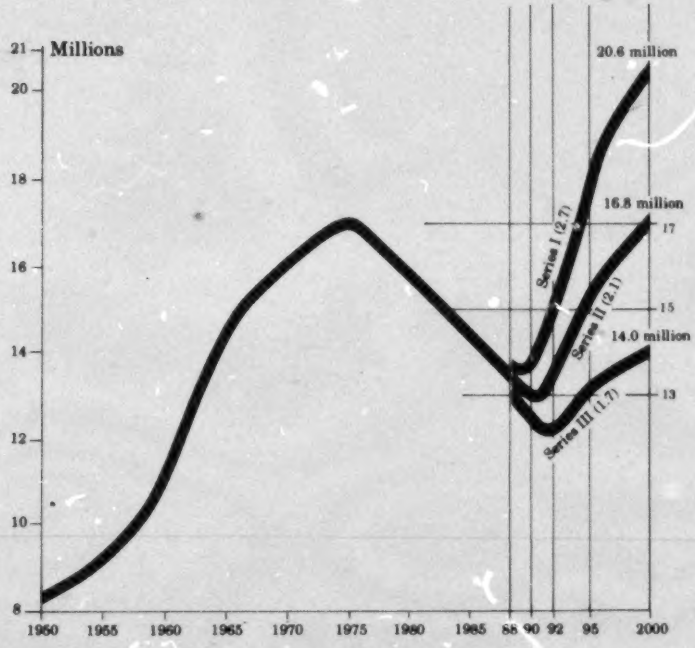
Figure I Total fertility rate



Adapted from *Population and the American Future*, The Report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

As late as 1955, the Census Bureau was projecting a series of population scenarios based on a range of from 2.5 births per family to 3.7 per family (Series C to AA). By 1972, it dropped all but Series C and added Series D, E, and F, with F representing a projected family size of 1.8. In 1974 it again shifted the signals to Series I, II, and III, reflecting 2.7, 2.1, and 1.7 children per family.

Figure II Population and projected population ages 14-17



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-25, No. 601.

Look now at what that means for the 14–17 age-group by the year 2000 (Figure II). For Series III (that nearest the present condition) the age-group total will be

13,915,000, 20% below its present size. For Series II, the family size of 2.1 will almost bring us back to where we were last year—16,752,000. And if we have an immediate and dramatic turnaround in births, bringing us back to 2.7 from our current 1.8, we could be faced with finding space and teachers for 20,575,000—21.5% more than in 1975. So the difference of one child per family between now and 2000 could make a difference of over 6,660,000 young people aged 14–17, more than 75% of the total size of this age-group in 1950.

But for this to happen, the turnaround in births per family would have to be immediate and dramatic—one more child per family. Most students of population do not see this as highly probable. But the decline does show that a small change in rate can produce impressive differences in totals when one deals with larger and larger populations.

Is it, then, a matter of "you pays your money and you takes your choice" as to what the future holds for the size of this age-group? Certainly projecting population is a precarious activity and it might be well to repeat our earlier warning to ourselves and to our readers by quoting one of Damon Runyon's characters that "nothing what depends on humans is worth odds of better than 8 to 3." Yet each year and each piece of evidence cited would seem to argue for accepting the lower side of the projection range, and, at any rate, through 1988 a 20% decline is firm.

As the sun turns

At this point we must divide our argument and our audience into those in the so-called Sun Belt and those in the Northeast and North Central states. These, in turn, must be subdivided into those in the metropolitan areas and those in the nonmetropolitan areas. For each, the size of the reduction previously described will be affected, in some cases very substantially, by the migration of American families.

Consider the situation and the trends.

☐ "Although 41.3% of all persons 5 years old and over moved during the five-year period (1970–75), the rate for persons 25 to 29 years was 72.0%. Persons in their early twenties and early thirties also had high mobility rates (both around 60%)." (6) In other words, young people, who could be expected to have the most children of preschool and school age, are on the move, changing dwelling location almost twice as frequently as the average for the country as a whole.

☐ "During the 1970–74 period, the nonmetropolitan population grew 5.5%. This is a rare period in recent American history when nonmetropolitan America has grown faster than its metropolitan counterpart." (7)

☐ "In the five-year period March 1970 to March 1975, central cities of metropolitan areas continued to experience out-migration just as they had in the 1960s. Central cities [ended up with] a net loss of 7,018,000." (8)

☐ "All but two of the 13 fastest-growing metropolitan areas are in Florida, Texas, and Arizona. . . . The two others are in Colorado. . . ." (Table I) (9)

☐ "By contrast, the metropolitan areas which lost 2% or more during this same period were mostly in the North." (Table II) (9)

☐ "Growth in the metropolitan population in the early 1970s has been confined largely to the South and West. Out-migration has been concentrated in the Northeast and North Central states." (Figure III) (9)

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(6) U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-20, No. 285, p. 3.
(7) U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-25, No. 618, p. 1.
(8) U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-20, No. 285, p. 2.
(9) *The New York Times*, February 8, 1976.

Table I
SMSA's Ranked by Rate of Population Growth 1970 to 1974

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	% change, April 1, 1970 July 1, 1974	Rank by rate of growth
Fort Myers, Fla.	46.4	1
Sarasota, Fla.	32.0	2
Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, Fla.	28.1	3
Fort Collins, Colo.	28.0	4
Orlando, Fla.	27.7	5
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, Fla.	27.1	6
Killeen-Temple, Texas	26.6	7
Tucson, Ariz.	23.3	8
Colorado Springs, Colo.	22.7	9
Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.	22.5	10
Tallahassee, Fla	21.3	11
Phoenix, Ariz.	20.9	12
Austin, Texas	20.3	13

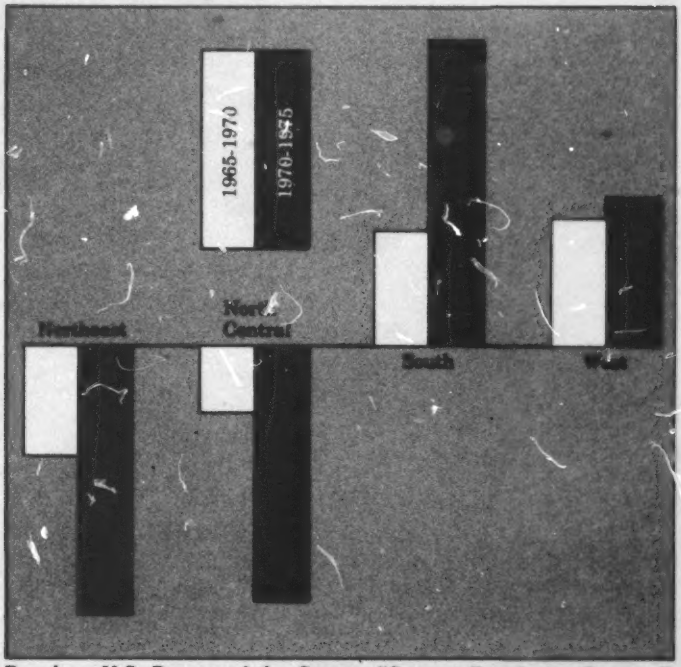
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-25, No. 618.

Table II
SMSA's Ranked by Rate of Population Loss 1970 to 1974

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	Percentage Loss 1970-74	Rank by loss
Columbus, Ga.	-8.6	1
Sherman/Denison, Texas	-6.8	2
Savannah, Ga.	-4.3	3
Jersey City, N.J.	-4.1	4
Cleveland, Ohio	-3.9	5
Tacoma, Wash.	-3.6	6
Petersburg/Hopewell, Va.	-3.5	7
New York (N.Y. and N.J.)	-3.4	8
Pittsburgh, Pa.	-2.8	9
Linton, Okla.	-2.5	10
Elmira, N.Y.	-2.2	11
Seattle/Everett, Wash.	-2.0	12

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-25, No. 618.

Figure III U.S. net migration, 1965-1970 and 1970-1975 by regions



Based on U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Current Population Reports," Series P-20, No. 285.

As the national data settles into place, suggesting more and more a sustained period of no growth, or modest growth in births, local variations continue. Each community faces different conditions of location, age, housing stock, open land, unemployment, and social climate. In combination, these spell immediate or long-range decline, stability, or growth, or a mix of all three at different times or for different parts of the same community.

Yet all is not random; nor is the conclusion to be drawn that "no plan" is the best plan for coping with the fluctuations in numbers and enrollments. There are always local indicators and local trends which, unless upset by major calamities (war, famine, pestilence, and plague) or by a major highway or defense installation, can be used to help reduce the chance of a major unwanted consequence and enhance the possibility of improving the quality of life for all the community residents.

Planning—always important—now a must

A plan is essential. And the plan must address itself to the question of educational priorities for the schools. It must first, then, be an educational plan. Hopefully, such a plan will be the result of broad citizen discussion and decision-making. Goals chosen without consent are not apt to be useful or effective in what frequently are emotional and sometimes factional issues in school closings. Similarly, responding on an ad hoc basis to the gradual spread of empty classrooms by trying to "save" elementary schools just at the time that high school enrollments start to decrease can exhaust most of the options for classroom use. And with the chips (options) used up, the game of alternative uses may then be over, with the high school the loser.

An example of this concern with elementary schools is the study just completed by a 15-member task force for the Board of Education of Eugene, Oregon. The recommendations call for keeping all schools in operation, even nine "smaller enrollment schools," by actively seeking alternative uses for empty space in both the public and private sectors. Moreover, "if enrollment at any school falls below 120 to 150, innovative plans of grouping students and allocating personnel should be tried." No mention is made of the future high school enrollment decline and how it "fits" in with the elementary school strategy.

Alternatively, in Syosset, Long Island, New York,

again with a citizens' advisory committee study in hand, two elementary schools will be closed, but only after a careful examination of the future high school enrollment and organizational requirements had been made. The advisory committee made its recommendations to the superintendent. The superintendent used this report as the basis for his recommendations but modified its time schedule. Meanwhile, the board held 31 hearings over a five-month period before deciding on its own course of action. Incidentally, the Syosset approach is being considered as a model for other New York communities in developing community understanding and agreement on school closings.

Over time, then, a systemwide picture is needed. This means starting out at some point in the future—for example, 10 years from now—deciding within some flexible limits what the school program and physical plant should look like, and then working back to the more immediate future (five years hence) and to the specific steps that need to be taken in each succeeding year. This procedure is being followed by the Niles Township High School District of Illinois, which is allowing five years to plan for an orderly transition from its current three schools to a two high-school system. Such questions as whether or not to proceed in stages (i.e., one grade per year) or all at once have to be weighed, and discussed with students, parents, and staff. Arrangements then have to be made for executing efficiently the decision reached with a minimum of disruption to students, staff, and program.

Unfortunately—or fortunately—there can be no one planning model. The very diversity of school district organization and size throughout the country prohibits this. And the how of planning has many diverse techniques. Ardent advocates of planning hold a variety of viewpoints as to who should participate—professional, lay, and board of education—and how they should be organized.

There are two universals, however, in any plan for

coping with decline: (1) The issues must be examined in terms of resource allocation, both fiscal and human; and (2) goals and strategies must take into consideration the anxiety that all decline creates in the minds of those directly or indirectly affected.

Among the numerous elements that will influence the design of any plan will be such unique community conditions as those of governance, of density of population versus dispersion, of nonpublic/public arrangements, of race, and of judgments as to the centrality of a high school or high schools to the stability of the community.

Clearly, the scale of the organizational unit affects the range of choices, but the larger units, such as counties, may well face the seemingly contradictory needs of closing schools because of declining enrollments in one part of the district while embarking on major expansion to take care of growth elsewhere. Where this is the case, the admonition "build for a loose fit" would seem most appropriate, remembering that the new school might need to become something else some day.

Montgomery County in Maryland is just such a school district—urban, suburban, and rural. It faces the need to build new schools in some parts of the district while closing others at the same time. The planning mechanisms have been carefully designed to accommodate both the size of the district and its diversity. There are six administrative and planning areas and the educational strategies vary: in rural situations, the school is thought of and planned as the "life center" of the community. The emphasis is on involving the community in the school. In the large urban areas of the county, the effort is just the reverse—getting the pupils out into the community.

Plans, then, will differ. The town with one high school can hardly be expected to close its only secondary school. The multi-high-school urban district may have the option of a rather complete reorganization of the high school system if it so desires. The multiple-school suburban district

may face a decision as to whether or not to close "one out of three schools," and if so, which one. And the county system, as suggested, may face three kinds of conditions—urban, suburban, and rural—all at the same time.

The accordion concept

One way to plan for declining school enrollments is to consider the junior high school as a kind of expansion-contraction joint in the organizational structure of a school system or, to change the figure of speech, an accordion-like instrument to be extended or compressed as the numbers may require.

Recall for a moment the development of the junior high schools from circa 1910 through the 1930s. Enrollments were burgeoning. Space was in short supply. In urban areas, high schools were already large-scale structures. Rather than add more elementary schools (which were somewhat wasteful of the newer spaces for shop and homemaking) or add to the size of the high schools, it had been decided to construct an "in-between" school by lopping one year off the high school and two off the elementary. Less land was needed than for a group of extra elementary schools because gyms and cafeterias did not have to be added to older elementary schools to bring them up to the new school standards. More students could then be accommodated at each grade level in both the elementary schools and the high schools.

Fortunately, the time was also one in which G. Stanley Hall's emphasis on adolescent psychology was in ascendance. Furthermore, the elementary schools were under critical scrutiny because the 7th and 8th grades were "merely repeating what had been learned in the 6th." We need not argue cause and effect but settle for a confluence of forces. The result was the emergence of the three-year junior high school.

In the 1960s there was again a stirring of educational concern and a concomitant pressure on space. There were

plans to make the three-year junior high a four-year school for grades 5–8 and include the 9th grade in the high school again (it had always been a sort of misfit, or so many saw it, as a junior high unit). And this time the argument had, in some cases, social overtones; this rearrangement would advance integration since the middle school would draw from a larger area and the probability of a heterogeneous student population would be enhanced.

Why this somewhat oversimplified review? It may well be that again an organizational review can suggest ways of synchronizing space surpluses with the wave of decline as it moves up the grade level, to be followed in many cases by another growth wave, although probably not of the same magnitude as that of the 1940s and 1950s. In retrospect, the admonition "Don't build for the peak" was not spoken or heard frequently enough in our growth period. Now we need the converse admonition: "Don't close or abandon for the trough." The growth and decline of age-groups has been described rather inelegantly as similar to the peristaltic action of a snake swallowing an egg. We may be on a zero-growth trajectory, but we will not approach this condition steadily. The school-age cohorts themselves will reflect this oscillation, although the amplitude of the swing may each time become smaller than before. Careful analysis of grade reorganization may provide ways to minimize disruption.

Trust and participation

There is a large measure of distrust in government, and school boards have not escaped this mood. Closing schools is an act not likely to increase the level of trust unless the decisions to close—or not to close—are made openly with full community participation. So while arrangements may vary, community to community, it would seem that the *sine qua non* of any plan to cope with decline is participation. At least it is incumbent on those who decide against involving the community to justify themselves.

It is, then, not too early to begin to think about what the high school will (or should) be like in 10 or 15 years. After all, 1990 is only one year further away than we have come since the day John F. Kennedy was assassinated. Almost certainly the age-group 14–17 will still be decreasing. But in the meantime, several funny (and not so funny) things may happen to the high school on the way to 1990.

2. The high school—a revered institution surrounded by strife

There was a time when the high school was the most highly regarded and prestigious community institution. Like apple pie, it was referred to as "that most American of all institutions." For most people it was their last contact with formal education. Even if in later life they sought more education or training, it was to the local high school that they returned. In theory and in action it was "the people's college." And while some, including the "downtown merchants," were concerned about a winning football or basketball team, observers of American society valued the high school more as a kind of social cement, holding a community together through common locality, image, and pride. Alumni groups were formed and reunions held. And when the town grew to the point where two high schools were necessary, many bitter fights were waged by parents who feared that their children would have to go to the new "second" school.

Or, when it became necessary to tear down the old school for safety, or for a thruway, or for urban renewal, how many communities sold the old school bricks to loyal alumni, who (in order to get a bond issue passed) had been assured that even in the new school "Old English will never die." For many, Old English had replaced the call of the frontier as the place to go to seek a path to fame and fortune. Little wonder then at the strength of the bonds between school and community. ("How many mayors went to English High?") In sociological terms, the high school became the avenue of social mobility for the majority of youth. It was also the place where youth of different backgrounds, cultures, and in some cases races, would mingle, learn to accept and respect differences, and together establish links of communication and understanding—or so the romanticist saw it.

But by 1960 the high school was not being described in such euphoric terms. Paeans of praise gave way to a

series of attacks—some angry, some "more in sorrow." How much of this anxiety was aroused over Sputnik or the social turmoil of the decade, how much was beyond the high school's responsibility to "correct," and how much remains for the 1970s in terms of long-term rearrangements of role and activities is now being sorted out, community by community.

The search for reform

Three major commission reports have sought to diagram the problems of high school education and have proposed solutions to the issues as they perceive them. Interestingly, two addressed themselves to the education of an age-group, and one to secondary education.[1] None mentioned the high school as such in their main title, as had James B. Conant in his *The American High School Today*, published in 1959. Perhaps this in itself is reflective of the broader perspective and wider range of concerns these reports express. Another document, *The Greening of the High School*,[2] had reported earlier on the soul-searching that resulted from a three-day conference of educators and architects, with Harold Howe, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, giving the opening paper, "How Do You Keep Them Down at the School After They've Seen T.V.?" His associate at The Ford Foundation, Edward Meade, in summarizing the conference discussions, answered Howe's question, in part, by suggesting:

"Since schools don't seem necessary any more to transmit information, the conference might have been

1. *Youth: Transition to Adulthood.* Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee (James Coleman, Chairman). University of Chicago Press, 1974.
   The Education of Adolescents, National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education (John Henry Martin, Chairman).
   The Reform of Secondary Education, National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education (B. Frank Brown, Chairman). McGraw-Hill, 1973.
2. *The Greening of the High School.* A Report of EFL and /I/D/E/A/, March 1973.

called 'The School as Dropout.' But we're opposed to any kind of dropping out, so we found some other things the schools could do.

☐ The school needs to be the broker for sending youngsters to and from 'real world experiences.'

☐ The school needs to be a place for the socialization of youth.

☐ The school needs to be a place where real world experience can be synthesized, analyzed, and understood by the pupils.

☐ The school needs to be an amenable place for exploring self."

Meade also identified alternatives that the conventional schools were seen as not doing well enough:

☐ "Encouraging greater participation by students in decision-making about their schools and the modes of their own education.

☐ Having more freedom of choice and more responsibility for their own work.

☐ Working with a range of adults and kids of other ages.

☐ Teaching other kids.

☐ Serving in the community and holding jobs.

☐ Spending more time by themselves.

☐ Working more in groups than in classes.

☐ Getting paid for work, with the school's sanction.

☐ Enrolling in smaller 'schools.'"

The profession itself has joined in the rhetoric of reform with the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) publication of its impressive policy statement "This We Believe."[1]

Summaries and critiques of these and other reports have appeared, such as those by John Esty of The Rockefeller Family Fund[2] and by the Rand Corporation, the

1. *This We Believe: A Statement on Secondary Education*. Task Force on Secondary Schools in a Changing Society (Reston, Virginia. 1975).
2. John Esty, "The New Reform Movement in Secondary Education," in *Reform in the Mid-Seventies: A Summary of Five Panel Reports* (May 1974).

latter limiting its analysis to the three major National Commissions.[3] (There were 32 recommendations in the Brown report alone!)

The Rand report summarizes the major recommendations of the three commission-type studies as follows:

☐ Dispersion—a reversal of the trend toward concentrating youth in segregated educational environments, putting them instead, for a good part of the time, in the workplace or other community activities.

☐ Individualization and flexibility—arranging institutions so that individuals and groups of individuals combine their conventional schooling and their dispersed educational activities effectively.

☐ Modernization of curricula—new educational programs to enable students to function better as adult citizens of the nation and the world, and to better understand both media and aesthetics.

☐ Changes in school governance—enhanced participation by community, staff, and students in educational goal-setting and program development at every high school.

As part of this examination, educators are talking about teachers as guides and planners with students rather than as didactic dispensers of information. Polls and surveys of public opinion show a concern for "the basics" (a new program in Philadelphia had 3,000 applicants for a 500-student project), for values, and for civic or citizenship education. These also, then, are among the imperatives the high schools are facing.

So the place of the high school in the scheme of schooling is receiving an unprecedented searching reappraisal, probably much more basic than in the immediate post-Sputnik alarm. For some (the de-schooling group and to some extent those who suggest lowering the compulsory schooling age to 14), the image is one of attack, surround,

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3. *Youth Policy in Transition—A Working Note*, Rand Corporation (Santa Monica, California. December 1975).

and destroy. For others the image is still militaristic: the high school is a fortress, isolated and authoritarian. But the need is seen as less that of reducing an institution in order to build new ones than it is one of rearranging institutions and building bridges between the existing institutions and the community. For other reformers (and this includes many in the professional field of education itself), the image is more one of contriteness. "Forgive us our sins. . . . We have done those things we ought not to have done and have left undone those things we ought to have done. . . ."

And so change, or reform, presses in on the secondary school—including both the junior and the senior high schools—at the very time that declining numbers are first being felt.

Reform and decline

How to cope with reform and decline *in combination* will tax the professional skill and goodwill of all those engaged in the education of youth and will demand a largess of spirit from the community as well.

Fortunately, the juxtaposition of decline and reform need not be viewed as necessarily a compounding of problems. For, while dealing with the problems created by the larger numbers of the 1950s and 1960s, which often led to crowded space and double sessions, we often had to "leave undone those things we ought to have done." Now, with fewer pupils, activities that tend to require much space can be reconsidered, and with appropriate retraining of personnel, even some of the hardships of reducing a work force can perhaps be modulated.

But first let us look at some of the conditions that can tend to accelerate the drop in secondary—essentially high school—enrollments.

□ The number of early graduates is increasing. From a low of 2.2% in 1971, the class of 1974 graduated 7.7% of its members early, according to a NASSP study. Of the

high schools responding to a survey, 53.7% replied that they provided *by policy* for early graduation. After examining student responses, the study concluded, "the popularity of early graduation probably will continue!"[1]

☐ California's Equivalency Exam makes it possible for a student, as of December 1975, to choose the option of taking the state's High School Proficiency Exam. If he/she passes and the parents consent, 16 and 17 year olds will be allowed to leave school regardless of the state's mandatory attendance age of 18. Nearly 19,000 Californian 16 and 17 year olds took the exam in March, up 67% from the first test in December 1975.

☐ Colleges are offering enticements to students to skip the senior year entirely. The following are excerpts from a kind of "pied piper" newspaper ad of New York University in the *New York Times:*

> "Your High School Junior Can Start College This September at N.Y.U. That's right, N.Y.U.'s Early Admissions Program allows high school juniors to skip their senior year and go right into college. . . . No, your teenager does not have to be a genius. . . ."

☐ In the fall of 1974, New York City's La Guardia Community College initiated a five-year "middle college" program for "high-risk 16 to 20 year olds." How this will fare under the current fiscal retrenchment remains to be seen. But the goal was an A.A. degree for these potential, or actual, high school failures.

☐ Syracuse University, New York, runs a high school diploma course for five counties in which students do not have to enter a schoolhouse. Counselors tailor a program for each student, and the learning can take place in a community college, with a tutor, through an apprenticeship, or with programmed material.

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1. NASSP, The Practitioner, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Reston, Virginia. October 1975).

□ Simon's Rock College in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, a new form of collegiate institution known as a "middle college," offers a four-year course to 16 year olds after they have completed the 10th grade. It graduated its first class in June 1976, offering three "awards" for four years of work: a high school equivalency certificate, an A.A. degree, and a B.A. degree. Incidentally, from a tuition standpoint, the program is a bargain. While neighboring colleges—Amherst, Mount Holyoke, and Smith—have been increasing tuition, Simon's Rock has held the line.

The colleges are in fact already "running scared" about declining enrollments even though the *birth* decline will not reach them for another four or five years. New York's Associate Commissioner for Higher Education, T.C. Hollander, has said bluntly: "We do not expect the state's present system of higher education to continue if enrollments drop below 400,000." (The projected estimate is 374,000 undergraduates by 1990.)

So the rush for survival in higher education is on and the high school becomes a natural place to raid. And if in fact this reaching down of the college into the high school pool of students is but a forerunner of what Harold Howe sees as a general compressing of the high school–college years from eight to six, with the lopping off of a year from each institution, then for the high school, four becomes three and for the junior high–senior high organizational structure, six becomes five.

□ Even if the high school responds to senior ennui and develops new programs, many of these are currently being thought of in such descriptions as "developing, coordinating, and supervising an array of options to which other individuals contribute. . ." or "attend high school half a day and a junior college the other half," or "attend high school half a day and work the other half."[1] New programs do not necessarily imply full-time *in-school* atten-

1. NASSP, *Curriculum Report*, Vol. 2, December 1975.

dance. Most of them will reduce the *in-school* demand on space and on traditional teaching roles and personnel.

Training for careers

Other than "senioritis," programs are also tending to remove the student from existing local schools. Foremost, perhaps, are vocational education trends.

Area or regional vocational high schools have been growing recently at a rate of 10% a year, although according to national projections this rate will be slowing down to 7% and then to 5% in the near future. Their clients are pupils who might otherwise have been in full-time attendance at a local high school. (They also might have been potential dropouts or "absentees"—and to this degree they represent not a transfer of clients but a new force tending to sustain total school attendance.) Area schools that operate with half-day or alternate week programs are, in effect, reducing enrollments (and freeing space) in local high schools on a two-for-one basis. (Two half-time students equal one "extra" full-time student space.) Full-time programs cut into local space needs on a direct one-for-one basis.

The people's college

In another corner of the vocational education arena, the spotlight has been focused on the so-called general education student. High schools have long had twinges of conscience about this faceless student—unwanted, custodially treated—a potential "shove out." He/she is a ready candidate and recruit for the off-school programs that are developing. Cooperative work programs, work-study arrangements, and what are currently labeled the action-learning activities all take place outside the regular schoolhouse. "Off campus" means additional empty space, for obviously no student can be in two places at the same time. So when the old high school in Castle Rock, Washington, was condemned, the new high school was

built without any occupational facilities (the town would not foot the bill). The district created an occupational program in which the students go out into the businesses and industries surrounding Castle Rock and learn their occupations in "real life" circumstances. Castle Rock, incidentally, has been identified by /I/D/E/A/ as one of the outstanding secondary schools in the country. (A proposal advanced by California State Superintendent Wilson Riles to give tax incentives to private businesses that agree to participate in work-study programs would stimulate greater industry participation in vocational education.) A more complex arrangement of programs and spaces, including community space, is that of Dayton, Ohio. Faced with both declining enrollments and desegregation requirements, Dayton has combined two high schools—Stivers and Patterson—to form a vocational education center for grades 9–12, including an 11th and 12th grade cooperative program. Later one other high school will be added to this center, to house all the 9th grade vocational programs.

Some of Dayton's vocational education students also work "off campus." The Dayton Department of Human Resources provides an opportunity for work on the rehabilitation of old urban housing. Students also work as volunteers in city agencies for high school credit. And while it has little effect on the use of the school plant, because it is a summer program, the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base takes 1,000 high school students in the summer for exploratory programs. Dayton is combining district reorganization with a dynamic program of alternative schools, magnet programs, and magnet schools. (One former elementary school will serve as a magnet science center for all the city's pupils in grades 5–8; the National Cash Register Corporation is providing equipment and staff for a magnet vocational program.) It represents a major effort to renew one central city's educational system.

In an attempt to reach the turned-off student, efforts to de-juvenilize the high school have resulted in a variety

of community-based activities and programs. The Philadelphia Parkway School, Metro in Chicago, and City-as-School in New York have been replicated or adopted in part in a number of school districts across the country. While pupils in these programs are still a responsibility of the local school board, they free space in the traditional school structures of the district.

The image of the high school as "the people's college" calls forth a picture of the high school at night—lights ablaze, parking lot full, adults commingling with some older adolescents studying, singing, playing, and acting—in short, a program of adult or community education. Ranging from personal grooming to leisure-time enjoyment to vocational or technical training, the high school "after hours" has been a regular part of very many, if not most, communities. But a "new" competitor has entered the field of postsecondary or adult education: the community college or the technical institute. The former has already staked out its objective with the claim that within 10 years there will be a community college within easy access for almost 90% of the country's population. The latter has merely to point to its frequently newer buildings, improved equipment, and availability of technical staff.

Who would not prefer to go to an attractive community college campus, with amenities frequently far beyond those of the local high school? Who also would not prefer "college credit" in this most degree-oriented of all societies? (Indeed for some, who would want to go back into that "prison" again?) Thus the high school stands to lose its hold on adults in the community unless it can strengthen its program, and enter into cooperative arrangements with community colleges for using the high school space for a college satellite and sharing the space and the action with other community agencies. (This will be discussed later, but the point to be made here is that, just as the four-year colleges are thinking of survival, so too the community colleges and area vocational schools

are beginning to cast about for numbers to maintain both program and staff.) Meanwhile, legislatures, hard-pressed financially, are beginning to question duplication of programs and facilities, and are seeking to emphasize coordination and cooperation, rather than competition.

3. Can decline help restructure the high school?

In one way the decline in numbers and the retrenchment in programs might be thought to go hand in hand. Smaller numbers without corresponding reductions in costs—indeed, on the contrary, still higher costs—can mean public pressure to cut out services (or "frills"). With smaller numbers can come professional staff resistance toward any change that might be perceived as threatening job security. In this sense, reform and its timing are off. Reform, or so we have tended to think, needs new money or more money, new staff or more staff, and a sort of free-wheeling, charismatic leader to execute it. The Ford Foundation's in-house evaluation of its educational effort in the 1960s tends to cast doubt on this formulation, but the converse of the proposition intuitively also seems false: fewer staff or at least no new staff, less funding or no new funding, and leadership concerned only with survival would certainly not seem conducive to adaptive institutional response.

Might it not be, however, that there are responses to decline that can lead to reform and that can invigorate secondary education? How then can we manage decline? What are the administrative strategies and the leadership demands for improving institutional performance under conditions of declining enrollments? As Kenneth Boulding has pointed out, we simply do not have the experience or knowledge of how to cope effectively with this phenomenon. But raising these questions now, giving thought to the morrow today, may bring better chances of success than crisis confrontation later.

If, for example, the secondary school principal of a community begins discussing and planning ways of combating decline with the staff—and sustaining teaching positions—without the full knowledge and support of the superintendent and board of education, a very bitter conflict in roles may develop. The superintendent and board,

wrestling with the ever-increasing budget, may be thinking only of ways to cut back in order to hold the line on costs. Expansion of programs may be the last thing on their minds. Therefore mutual understanding becomes essential. Perhaps this is, then, one of the first precepts of organizational behavior in decline—open communication. Communication now, planning now before a crisis confrontation is reached, will enhance the possibility of consideration of a broader range of options (including productive trade-offs), of time for coordination of effort, of planning for staff redeployment or development, and for securing community participation and support.

What are some of the options and issues? Certainly the following would be included in most lists. Each community will add (or subtract) from such a listing in terms of its own unique condition and situation. The result will be as varied as are the forms and conditions of the contemporary American high schools. Hopefully, communities will be better places for both youth and adults if some of these changes are made.

General program needs—and options

First, and obviously, redeploy surplus space to accommodate those activities and programs that have been deprived of adequate space. Libraries, laboratory/shop space, counseling offices, space for individual study and practice, and teacher-conference areas come to mind as likely candidates for excess space.

Conversely, do not hoard space. It is too valuable a community asset.

Build an options system. Options are one response to the call for more individualization and flexibility of programs and instructional methods. One model calls for a student to spend a half day in his regular high school, and the other half in a specialized program and facility. In the latter, in-depth specialization is made possible by a concentration of specialized personnel, equipment, and re-

sources. Alternatively, if the system is large enough, a series of specialized schools can be provided, in each of which a student spends all or most of his high school career. New York City probably has the most extensive such network, including, among others, the high schools of Science, of Music and Art, and of Commerce; and Brooklyn Technical. Vocational specialization is available in Aviation High, Food and Maritime Trades High, the New York School of Printing, and the High School of Arts and Design.

For smaller systems, the New York BOCES (Board of Cooperative Educational Services) model provides a way of increasing vocational offerings beyond those normally found in the smaller individual school districts. The student retains his "residential" local high school identity and spends a half day in a sophisticated vocational center. (This is an example of a program option that can add to the local high school capacity.)

In another variation, each high school combines a general education function with one specialization—art, science, music, drama, or a specialized vocational field in the trades, culinary arts, electronics, and computer science. The choice and arrangement would depend on community size, diversity, and such factors as location of schools and transportation networks. In their various forms these are emerging as magnet programs or magnet schools. Dayton has already been cited in this connection. Dallas is currently planning a series of magnet schools for the entire system. Chicago, Denver, and New York City all have magnet schools.

In a 1969 proposal for Minneapolis, space was to be provided for only three-quarters of the high school population. The remainder would be found in the city's "learning laboratories." The school year (regular, not year-round) was to be divided into quarters and, on the average, each student was to spend at least four quarters of his/her high school career in one or more of these laboratories. The

work in the laboratory was to be both specialized as to content and problem-solving as to method. While Minneapolis did not implement this plan, it did develop an options system on the elementary level—the Southeast Alternative—which sorts four different philosophies of education or instruction, combining a team of teachers and administrators in each, who are sympathetic or committed to the particular school's educational approach. Five distinguishable options or schools were identified: traditional school, continuous progress school, open school, modified open school, and free school.

The very comprehensiveness of this approach can stand as a warning to those who, in thinking of options, "opt out" for an alternative high school, which then all too frequently ends up as a code word for a school for intransigents or an escape venture for a certain socioeconomic element. Lacking a firm conceptual base and educational strategy, such a school tends to be short-lived or neglected.

In a small-sized district, separate alternative high schools may not be possible, but a high school originally designed as a house-plan facility might make a most appropriate candidate for alternative learning-style schools. By selecting teachers, parents, and students with common educational expectations, desires, and philosophy, the high school can avoid the pitfalls of the either/or type of struggle or the confusion that emerges when one tries to change the viewpoint, intervention strategy, or educational "theory" of a majority of a school's professional staff and parental client system. One house might be the traditional school, another the community-based school, and still another the "developmental learning" school. In any case, extra space may make territorial separation possible.

Vocational education needs

Vocational education programs need more space than is frequently allotted to them. Distributive education

laboratories may be nonexistent. Health services programs may similarly be restricted to regular classroom space. Shops may be unable to accommodate new and larger equipment. Lack of space may have resulted in smaller pupil-teacher ratios than would otherwise be acceptable. Knock down a wall for "x" dollars on a one-time-only basis; save "y" dollars annually on instructional costs for that program.

Reach out to the area or regional vocational education centers. They probably are growing and need more space. Explore the possibilities of a satellite operation in the local school. The resulting dialogue may be doubly appropriate! Educationally, regional centers tend to be isolated and not fully understood and valued; territorially, their unilateral expansion may be wasteful of public funds.

In some states, there is a freeze on all state construction funds. Others are finding the cost of regional facilities higher than that for recent local high schools. Legislatures are becoming reluctant to build more "high-cost" units.

The push for career education should certainly result in the strengthening and expansion of vocational education at the high school. Be alert also to the concomitant reduction of general education as such. Connecticut has just completed a Comprehensive Five-Year Master Plan for Vocational Education that calls for redirecting "toward career and vocational programs any secondary education program which prepares students neither for college nor for work." This plan further calls on each local board to develop a policy statement and action plan for career and vocational education for grades K–12. Such a redirection may very well result in a call for more vocational space.

As schools seek to redress the sex bias in their programs, a look at the availability of programs for girls indicates that vocational training has been limited chiefly to home economics (more than half are enrolled in these courses) and office practice (a third more here). Training for health occupations, cosmetology, and the like, or for

technical jobs, is available to only a few. Programs aimed at improving vocational skills for girls can be expected to add to the space needs of the secondary school.

Be prepared to make available additional space for special education students and programs. Many laws, federal and state, now require "free and appropriate public education" between the ages of 5 and 21. (West Virginia's coverage extends from birth to age 25.) Public Law 94-142, known as the "Education of All Handicapped Children Act," establishes a kind of Elementary and Secondary Act for this group of children and youth; it has a budget of $3.16 billion over the next three years. Programs, particularly vocational programs, will require more than the corresponding space for "normal" students. But of course not all the thrust of vocational education will result in more in-house instruction or the need for schoolhouse space. Willard Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute's report *The Boundless Resource* envisions a new partnership between the community and schools for developing an Education-Work Policy that would "better integrate the all-too-common separate worlds of work and education." Wirtz envisions "Community Education – Work Councils" set up to act as brokers for both establishing and monitoring work experience opportunities. Most of these experiences would be in the work space of the community and as such would seem to further free space in the traditional high school. But the range of new supporting services, as well as some direct training, would suggest that space will be demanded of the school as well: space for the "Work Institute" itself, for greatly expanded "Occupational Outlook and Career Information Reporting Systems," and "at least five hours per year of career guidance and counseling from both professionally trained and work-or-service-experienced counselors" for all high school and college students.[1]

1. Willard Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute, *The Boundless Resource*, 1975, p. 170.

In this latter connection, the need to improve the information base has been clearly recognized, and steps taken to improve both the demand and supply information. But even the available information is not being put to use. Should the high school offer the space for employers' recruitment offices, Department of Labor manpower advisers, and school career counselors to jointly develop and operate an "Occupational Information Center for Education-Industry"? The Atlanta Public School System has one such center that works closely with the Office of the Superintendent and the Chamber of Commerce.

Expanded clientele

Adults are seeking vocational education in substantial numbers. Work opportunities in the society demand it, not only in terms of an upgrading of skills, but also in acquiring a new skill in place of one no longer needed. According to Wirtz, quoting Bureau of Census data, the average adult male will make two (1.7) shifts in major occupational grouping during his working years, one of which will require further education and training. Wirtz thus argues that a person needs more occupational flexibility than is provided by training in one skill only. And this means more education-training. But if the high school hangs out its sign "For children only—come back earlier," some other institutions will seize the initiative. Indeed, in spite of the historical place of the high school in adult education, the U.S. Office of Education reported in 1972 that between 1969 and 1972 adult education in the public high schools grew by only 12% while that in community colleges increased by 65%.

Looking to the future, Wirtz sees the development in this society of a social contract that will guarantee "a sum equivalent to the cost of up to four years of public education available for further education to any adult who has had less than 12 years of formal schooling."

Whether this or some other form of expanded educa-

tional opportunity becomes available for adults—of all ages—the question to be addressed to the high school is whether it is ready and qualified for such an intergenerational role. Certainly it would seem not, if its only efforts are after hours and at night. With freed space, the possibility of full-time engagement with the adults of the community takes on new promise.

☐ Develop the image of the high school as a school for all seasons and ages. Examine the need for expanded adult basic education programs and full-time day programs of vocational education.

☐ Work toward reducing the standoff attitude between the Department of Labor's CETA (Manpower) programs and the vocational education professions. (At present, school districts are not eligible sponsors of CETA programs.) The current goal is to "mesh" the CETA and vocational education efforts.

☐ Since there is every reason to believe that adult education will continue to grow (one reason is simply that there will be more adults), initiate or expand efforts with community colleges to share this growth. You may have better or more readily available facilities; they may have more technically trained persons for offering instruction. Collaboration could reduce very costly duplication of effort and unproductive competition. Sharing the responsibility and the response may be the surest way to balance institutional expansionist drives. Again, as an example, the Roosevelt High School in Dayton, rather than being cast off by the district, has been converted to the Roosevelt Community Education Center. A large, well-built school of the 1930s, it has a full range of shops, two pools, an auditorium, etc. Now Central State College operates an evening program there; CETA has one of the few cable TV technician-training programs in the country (and all other CETA programs are being relocated there); a high school equivalency program is operating both day and night; and there are Neighborhood Youth Corps offices, a human re-

lations office, and a multicultural center.

"Any social system that says to the overwhelming bulk of its elderly, 'You are constrained to suffer 15 years of pre-death!', is an abomination." So says Stephen Bailey, Vice President of the American Council on Education.

Some schools have begun programs for the so-called senior citizen, ranging from food service to recreation, entertainment, and leisure-time activities. The needs and possibilities are extensive. In some communities an empty school has been given entirely to a senior citizens' organization to do with as it wishes. But for the most part these unoccupied schools have, to date, been quite naturally elementary schools. The high schools are better suited to the activities of elderly people (one list of spaces includes a library, a sewing room, a ceramics room, a woodworking shop, an art and candlemaking room, and a room for jewelry making, as well as space for an artist-in-residence, band practice, dancing, and regular adult education classrooms). In a high school there can be better sharing of spaces and programs—and less isolation for the adults, too. Las Vegas High permits senior citizens to enroll in any regular high school course in which there is interest, subject only to the restriction that the added class enrollment will not then exceed the stipulated class size of the teachers' contract.

To again quote the National Manpower Institute—which has looked further down this road than have many educators—there should be "a year's free public education available to everyone after he or she reaches the age of 60, as an organized series of educational and training opportunities thoughtfully and carefully designed." Whether this comes about, there is a ready wealth of resource here among the "retirees." Their participation in the school's programs for youth can take many forms: from direct teaching, to counseling, to helping to arrange work experiences. Whatever opening up of the high school to people of all generations there is, some of the surplus space will

be consumed.

Another thought, and a twist on the theme of expanded clientele, concerns the growing interest in locally based, in-service training for teachers. Often known as "teachers centers," these programs have grown to provide teacher-centered, teacher-managed curriculum development and instructional support. Often housed "off campus," it is likely that more programs could move into surplus high school space, if by so doing they do not lose that touch of independence that has made them so attractive to teachers.

Community schools as service centers

As we have expanded our view of the high school from that of a place and program which is the domain and prerogative of youth to that of an institution for the young adult, the middle-aged worker, and the older retiree, we have of course been moving into the field of community education. The terms "community education," "community schools," and "community centers" bring with them a variety of statements of definition and purpose. Community schools and the "community school movement" are more commonly thought of as places and programs that relate or combine social services, including education, for the community. This focus views the grouping of all social services—health, education, recreation, welfare, job training, and the like—as an efficient and economical way to provide for the needs of the community. The concern is for what is called the delivery system of these services. Meanwhile, the term "integrated social services," with or without education, has come to have its own special meaning and includes both process (community involvement or management) and substance, addressed to the needs of each individual as a whole.

One form that community school and community education take on, then, is that in which some of these social services, including education, share the same physical

space—or at least occupy contiguous space in a common facility. Recreation is perhaps the most common, followed by health services, child-care centers or clinics, and libraries, although not necessarily in that order. (Libraries do seem to be reluctant partners—why?)

Three outstanding and well-known examples of such school/community centers are the John F. Kennedy Center in Atlanta, the Thomas Jefferson Center in Arlington, Virginia, and the Dunbar Community High School of Baltimore. But each of these was a newly constructed facility. Now the challenge is to convert unused school space for these purposes.

Community education at community centers has been a rather quietly growing movement for a number of years, nourished at the wellspring of the Mott Foundation. Currently there are 15 regional centers at various universities around the country involved in promoting this movement and training practitioners. The focus of much of this community effort is on what is referred to as the brokering of space and programs—finding compatible agencies, agencies that need space for their programs (and hopefully can pay rent for them), and encouraging the participation of the community both in planning the program and making use of the services. No easy job, it requires the skills of a grantsman and real estate broker combined. Jurisdictional suspicion and rivalries, anxiety over the compatibility of clients, and questions of equity in sharing space and costs are all able to produce blocks to any cooperative effort. Negotiations are time consuming. It is not an assignment to be added to that of a high school principal, particularly one set out on the road of renewal or reform.

In its earliest days the community-based component ran on a kind of platoon basis. It was the after-school and evening "shift." The community coordinator "took over" when the regular school administration and teaching staff were finished for the day. But since most people are on essentially an 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. basis, wherever space permit-

ted, and as the community component expanded, the two began to run concurrently. Problems of use of space, of final authority, became issues between the principal of the school and the community director. These need careful analysis so that responsibilities can be complementary and the role of the high school principal clearly not diminished in the public's (and his/her) eyes.

Earlier in this report we expressed concern about consuming all the optional uses of school space in an attempt to fill up the currently available surplus space in the elementary schools. The school/community service center is the main case in point. Establishing a network of neighborhood service centers in elementary schools may be counterproductive, or inefficient, or both. The scale of elementary schools ill suits an adult. Their very decentralization may make it inordinately expensive to replicate services in each. Indeed, as far back as 1960, New Haven chose its new middle schools (grades 5–8) as the location for its community centers on the basis of concern for both these conditions.

Consider, then, anchoring a community-wide system of social service centers in middle schools, or junior or senior high schools.

Community schools—community as school

Turning to the other major objective of community education with its emphasis on the expanded role of education *per se*, we find its impact on the schoolhouse somewhat indeterminate.

On the one hand, the emphasis is on intergenerational learning, on the concept of the learning society, and on the better use of the human talents and resources of the community to enrich and make more meaningful the school's own (usually) in-house programs. Any expansion of this sort would certainly seem to consume space. On the other hand, the emphasis also is on using the community itself—its institutions and its people—as "the laboratory

Space can be assigned for small "hands-on" museums to encourage children to learn through interaction with exhibits.

Programs for handicapped children need space for physical activities.

Therapy for handicapped adults can be accommodated in spaces built out of former classrooms.

Can decline help restructure the high school?

Daycare and preschool programs can share part of an underused or empty secondary school.

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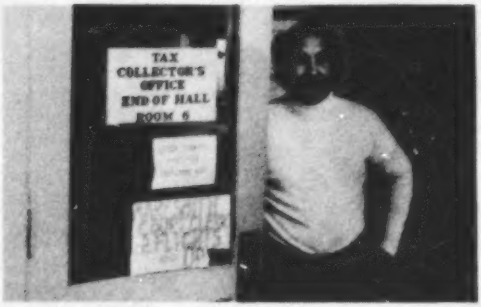
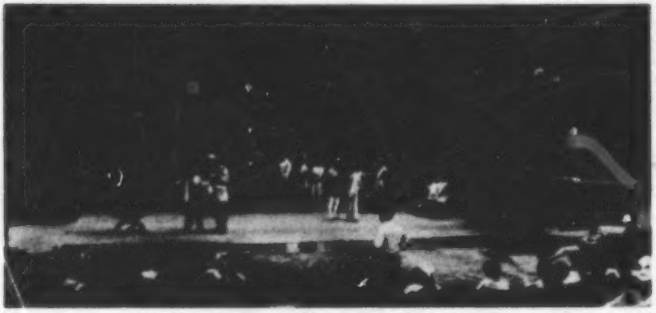
Arts programs for adults are becoming more popular, particularly with older people.



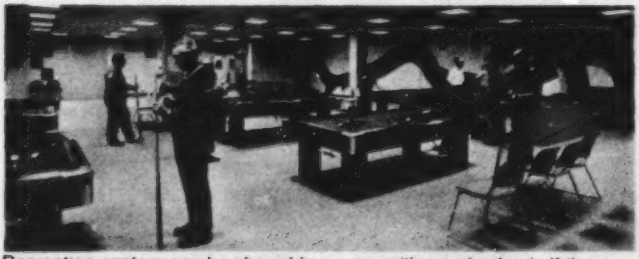
Municipal offices are natural partners for sharing a school building with education or other public agencies.

Auditoriums in empty high schools can still function as community theaters.



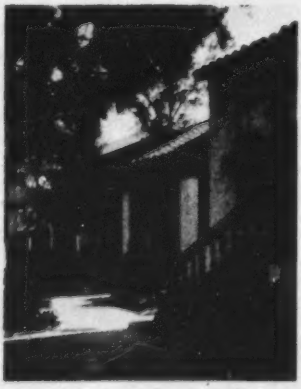
Can decline help restructure the high school?

Schools can use their cafeterias to provide lunches for senior citizens.



Recreation centers can be shared by communities and schools if they stay open at night and on weekends.

Vocational education can be offered to adults and out-of-school youths in day and evening classes.



Schools that cannot be reused for public service can be sold for conversion to apartments, shopping malls, and as above, an inn in California.

for learning." This will be realized through cooperative work programs, work-study strategies, and "action-learning." ("Action-learning" is a not too felicitous expression, but we need not get embroiled in semantics and the frequently vehement debate about the efficacy of learning from experience. Well-designed and well-executed, it is one useful learning strategy.) As the high school moves out into the community with off-campus programs, there is obviously more space available in school.

☐ It might then be that some high schools in some communities will find themselves in a trade-off situation. They will have more non-high-school age clients and fewer high school aged pupils, combined with less in-school instruction for the latter.

☐ In any event, provide programs to encourage adults to use the schoolhouse. People are their own best policemen; mothballing a school by boarding up its windows seems neither to improve the building nor the real estate values of its neighborhood.

☐ In those communities where there are two or more high schools, the issue may have to be faced as to whether to use them all, enjoying the advantages of smaller schools, or to combine two or three schools and secure the economies of scale. Certainly the trend in central cities is away from the gargantuan multi-thousand secondary schools of a decade ago. But gross size is not necessarily the main criterion to be used. Quincy High School, Illinois, and the Haaren High School in New York have coped with large over all enrollments and have developed a series of "mini-schools" which provide diversity while capitalizing on the critical mass that large schools provide for expensive but necessary programs.

☐ If one is concerned with economies of space and program, releasing an entire school to become a community center may have substantial advantages.

Size and shrinkage

A community center can be an excellent home for a performing arts complex—an auditorium with stage and dressing rooms for drama and concerts, and the gym for the dance and a "theater-in-the-round." The fine arts can find a home here also, perhaps with one or more artists-in-residence, or with space rented to a variety of local art groups. In New Orleans, career education funds have been used to operate the Center for the Creative Arts, housed in a former elementary school. In New Haven, a former synagogue houses a comprehensive arts program from 16 urban and suburban high schools. In Kalamazoo, Michigan, Old Central High was saved from the wrecker's ball partly because of the desire of the community to keep the auditorium with its superb acoustics. Now a successful community education center, the former school's auditorium played host to 78 different groups, including students from the new high school. The junior symphony orchestra rehearses weekly and an impresario sponsors four professional concerts a year. The center also provides academic and recreational programs for adults, a high school curriculum for unwed mothers, and a day care center for their children. Apprentices attend for career training, and special classes are run for senior citizens.

By concentrating efforts in one facility, a complex of spaces can be developed which could not be easily justified in a number of dispersed buildings. It becomes a local matter of priorities and trade-offs. Smaller schools and probably higher costs, with the possibility of reducing the "comprehensive" nature of the student body and program, have to be weighted against a larger, more heterogeneous student body, more varied program, and a multipurpose single facility for the community activities. We note in passing that the question of the size of the high school has recently become again a matter of concern—the focus less on educational offerings than on the matter of social con-

trol. The issue is not resolved easily, but most high schools in the country are still not large by urban standards. (In 1970 the median high school had only between 500 and 750 students.) And it is really in the large urban school (1,000 to 2,000 pupils or more) where the issue of social control has been most serious. However the question of size is resolved, it will be of community concern in the multiple-high-school district facing decline. Any professional analysis on the question of size needs to be carefully prepared and supported. (The Rand "Working Note" mentioned earlier makes an attempt at weighing the pros and cons of the arguments.)

4. Decline and the shadow of cost

We have neither exhausted the range of questions nor identified the full variety of local conditions that will be faced during a period of lowered secondary school enrollments. In our decentralized educational system, it would be fruitless to strive for comprehensive coverage. Hopefully we have picked out some of the main forces and some of the more promising responses. We have, however, kept our listing of responses essentially in the public sphere—or certainly within the not-for-profit activity or organization—a natural enough approach but probably not fiscally hard-headed enough. Certainly agencies, both public and private nonprofit, can be expected to pay something for the use of other public space, but they frequently can afford only, or think they can, less than the going commercial rate. Does this mean that the board of education should subsidize them by using its own funds to keep a schoolhouse open? The answer would seem to depend on a community's fiscal arrangements and understandings. In Minnesota, for example, the school district is authorized to levy a separate tax earmarked for community education. Currently, the ceiling is $2.00 per capita. Under these conditions, it would seem that the board of education can feel fully justified in levying an actual net-cost charge against this latter budget.

Expanded services vs. economy

But enlarging the clientele, offering more services, or expanding existing services eventually does come in conflict with the thrust toward economy. The high school thus is caught and tossed around on a kind of cross-rip of currents and forces that can make its future direction somewhat problematical. It must remain committed to the delivery of services—both more effectively and for more people—but it has little room for negotiating trade-offs to hold down the increases in costs that this commitment implies.

Rigid "credentialing," fixed pupil-teacher ratios, federal and state requirements, and obsolete codes can all stand in the way of flexibility and greater productivity. In order to accomplish more, the high school must not only make its case clear and convince the community that its new or expanded services are worth the cost, but it must also show that it has sloughed off outmoded—and therefore wasteful and costly—activities, programs, and methods.

Suppose, however, that the people of a district simply have come to the point where they will not spend any more money on heat, light, custodial services, insurance, and ground care to keep surplus space open and cared for. Why not lease to for-profit commercial and business tenants? One quick answer in most situations would be "because it is against the law." But laws can be changed, and given the choice of mothballing a school, leaving it subject to vandalism and standing as a blight on its neighborhood, or renting it out to members of the business community, the latter might well be the wiser course. Suppose also that one or several business or industrial concerns could be interested, as part of their rental costs, in taking on high school cooperative work-study students. The community gains in two ways. A valuable community asset is kept in operation at no "extra" cost and the high school program is enriched. Or if this strategy is not acceptable, consider turning the school over to another educational agency. Community colleges or technical schools are likely prospects. This was the case in Lansing, Michigan, where the former high school was sold for $600,000 to the Lansing Community College. Santa Clara, California, Madison, Wisconsin, and Austin, Texas, are other communities which have also found community college "takers."

Sell if you must...

But as we consider further options, we are shifting attention more to the problem of real estate and less to a concern over maintaining the quality of the educational pro-

gram. Boards of education are certainly not set up to become real estate agencies or brokers of commercial space. For some, then, this may be the time to examine the appropriateness of a community agency that could be responsible for the management and allocation of all public space. Boston has such an agency in the form of its Public Facilities Department, established in 1966. It is responsible for the funding and construction of all public buildings in the city (except for some public housing). The department's responsibility frequently does not end with the completion of a building project but continues for some time because of contractors' warranties. Thus, it acts as something like an official landlord for the city. When declining enrollment occurs, which is usually in older buildings to which the school system already has title, the board declares the property surplus and turns it over to the Public Facilities Department. The department can immediately designate its future use, according to neighborhood needs. There is no waiting, no red tape, no middleman; the department is its own broker.

New arrangements for the management of space

On the metropolitan level, the charter of Nashville-Davidson County states that any building declared surplus by the board of education is to be administered by the Public Property Administration, which may opt to rent, lease, or sell at public auction. Under the charter, title to all property is held by the metropolitan government for use by various agencies and boards. And since Nashville is currently in the process of reducing its 23 high schools to 12, the board of education is relieved of a major "noneducational" problem. In passing, note should be made of Nashville's policy of providing a skill center in every high school. Skill centers are one response to the need for vocational sampling and for securing quick entry into the job market. They can consume substantial

amounts of space.

But even where the board of education itself must determine how to dispose of a no longer needed facility, razing it—provided it is not an unsafe structure—should be considered only as a last resort. Particularly in older urban centers, another loss of a strong community symbol need not become a depressing asphalt parking lot. At least this was the case in Ithaca, New York, where the old high school adjacent to the city center was not torn down, but instead was sold to a developer who converted it (at $6 a sq ft) to ground-level shops and offices and upper-floor apartments with complete modern amenities (and where can you get 10- to 12-ft ceilings today?). And in Claremont, California, the old high school was sold and turned into a shopping center—with a gallery, restaurants, and all—which retained all the advantages of spaciousness and was also a visual community asset.

New and pending legislation

We should not leave this matter of cost and funding without calling attention to three pieces of federal legislation. Two have already been enacted and the other has been filed this year. The Community Schools Act, Section 405, of Public Law 93-380 was passed as part of the Education Amendments of 1974. While the initial funding is modest, the law allows up to 70% of the costs of starting new programs; 65% of the costs of expanding or improving one; and 40% of the costs to maintain an existing program. Local Education Agency's (LEA's) will receive $3,500,000 this year and the states will get $1,500,000 for direct administration and developmental and technical assistance. Indicative of the interest in this program is the fact that, as of the deadline for applications, well over 250 proposals had been received from LEA's and 39 states had also applied.

In addition to the federal legislation, several states have enacted laws encouraging intergovernmental or in-

teragency cooperation. Pennsylvania has a broadly inclusive act that permits cooperation between most governmental units, including schools. Arizona has probably the oldest statute for encouraging the multiple use of schools (1956), and California has its 1959 "civic center acts," which permit broad use, under the control of the school board, provided the activities do not interfere with the primary use of the building for school purposes.

Introduced by H. John Heinz III of Pennsylvania, under the title of The Surplus School Conservation Act, are two current bills in Congress concerning surplus schools. The first would provide grants (up to 70% of the total cost of conversion) to those communities that want to keep their empty schools but convert them to community use. The second is designed for those situations that involve outright sale to private industry. In the latter case the legislation would provide tax benefits to a private corporation willing to purchase the property.

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5. Final words

The numbers are clear—for many secondary schools, enrollments of conventional students will be down, and for some, drastically so. What to do about it is not so clear, but on balance, the consequences of sharply declining enrollments can be positive and useful as secondary schools respond to their changing world. Indeed, the problem arising from declining enrollments can provide the best climate in which constructive change can take place. For example:

Program—It encourages a reexamination of program, forcing the strengthening of elements known to be good and the elimination of remains of an earlier era.

Staff retraining—It provides clear and present reason to upgrade and refocus faculty purpose and performance as teachers work out new roles.

New clientele—As schools reach out to a new constituency, public support will increase. Schools for people, not just for pupils, become a socio-economic necessity for many communities—and the public has shown it will support "necessities."

Space—Suddenly there may be room for activities that strengthen the school and improve the community's capacity to serve all its people—and the space may already have been paid for!

Long-range planning—Economic reality provides additional motivation for a school to look at itself and its direction for the foreseeable future.

Renewal—The pressures that swirl around the American secondary school are intensified in a period of reduction. We do not know, for example, what the death of a high school does to the fabric of a community. Finding answers to new questions can be frustrated by issues surrounding the use and reuse of property—education's real estate. Often a lay committee will give disproportionate weight to savings in building operation and maintenance,

yet in their quest for economy, the broader aims of education can be distorted by the arithmetic of quick reduction in a minor category of the total budget. It is easy to forget that people are more important than bricks.

When Dr. James B. Conant was describing the characteristics of American education in his monumental critique *The American High School Today,* he said: "When one tells a foreign visitor that we have tens of thousands of local school boards with vast powers over the elementary schools and the high schools, he is apt to say, 'This is not a system but a chaos.' To which I always reply, 'but it works; most of us like it; and it appears to be as permanent a feature of our society as most of our political institutions.' "

Although written in the late 1950s, it is still a very durable truth. To observers from afar the relative unplannedness of American education with its overlay of local autonomy suggests that the American secondary school is ill prepared to respond in unison to factors of major upset. Yet because as a nation we are so plural, and the governance of our institutions so diverse, we can expect that the response, though differing community by community, will result in more inventive and prudent public policy than from standardized answers from a central authority.

The American secondary schools, public and private, are indeed as permanent a feature of our society as any of our institutions. They have been a necessary instrument for vibrant community life; the only threat to their permanence is a decline in the public sense of community.

EFL Publications

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PATTERNS FOR DESIGNING CHILDREN'S CENTERS A book for people planning to operate children's centers. It summarizes and illustrates all the design issues involved in a project. (1971) $2.95

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The following films are available for rental at $9.00, or for purchase at $180.00 from New York University Film Library, 26 Washington Place, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone (212) 598-2250.

NEW LEASE ON LEARNING
A 22-minute, 16mm color film about the conversion of "found space" into a learning environment for young children. The space, formerly a synagogue, is now the Brooklyn Block School, one of New York City's few public schools for children aged 3-5.

ROOM TO LEARN
A 22-minute, 16 mm color film about The Early Learning Center in Stamford, Connecticut, an open-plan early childhood school with facilities and program reflecting some of the better thinking in this field.

THE CITY: AN ENVIRONMENTAL CLASSROOM
A 28-minute, 16mm color film, produced by EFL in cooperation with the New York City Board of Education, shows facilities and resources in and around the city in which effective programs of environmental education are under way. Such diverse sites as the Hudson River, an incinerator, Chinatown, Governors Island, and a children's camp in a rural setting are analyzed for their contributions to the education of city children.

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